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remove their bark-cloth bands, take to the water and swim over, holding spear, shield, string bag, and bark-cloth band above their heads. A man may take a short length of light wood for a lifebuoy and, launching himself into the rapids of the Kumusi, will disappear and reappear many times, in a way which may actually alarm the spectator, until he emerges on the opposite bank some hundreds of yards down stream. 491

Rafts. Along the upper reaches of the rivers canoes are seldom seen. A primitive raft (*enga*) is constructed of half a dozen logs with two cross-pieces. Underneath are placed one or two much larger logs, which, though quite unattached, remain in position and buoy the raft upwards. An even cruder makeshift is an *enga* of banana stalks. 501

This primitive device, the raft, continues to hold its place with the canoe. Although essentially temporary it is strongly made. There is a tale of a crocodile-man who in his human guise persuaded two youths to build a raft, instructing them particularly to use grass in the building of it. He then volunteered to swim underneath in order to buoy up the raft like one of the detached logs. But he had betrayed himself by a smile which revealed the long pointed teeth of a crocodile, and the boys, unknown to him, used cane and strong creeper in binding the logs together. Then follows the sequel in which the swimmer, transmogrified into a crocodile, heaves and lashes his tail to no effect, thus pointing to the necessity of making a strong job even of an *enga*. But, however well constructed, the raft remains an unstable craft, and in the main a temporary one. Being clumsy and unmanageable, it may be carried far down stream in transit, and it is easier to make another than to haul it back. 501 538

Canoes. The canoe (*ma*) is a hollowed log with a platform and an outrigger. The work of obtaining a suitable log and the rough hewing of it will call for the assistance of a man's fellow villagers, for which he makes them no reward except that of feeding them. After the initial stages he works leisurely at it himself; he gives a neat finish to the hewing with his adze (and sometimes still the old stone adze is preferred for canoe work); he fits the platform and outrigger; 396 [476]

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461 as a necessary condition to wealth and the opportunity for display that industry is regarded as worth while. Otherwise the native, who enjoys *peogo* (rest or leisure) more than work for its own sake, might be disposed to discount it altogether. But the fact is that he does not. While loafing occupies a good deal of the Orokaiva day, we do not find any who neglect their work to an extent which in native eyes would be culpable (unless it be a wife in the eyes of her husband); and on the other hand a man who works harder than most is admired for it.

517 While the Orokaiva family is obliged to support itself, and is in the ordinary round of life a working unit, we find 476 numerous instances of a wider co-operation. Such co-operation is seen especially in the earlier stages of gardening, in fencing, in sago-making, and in the hunting or fishing expedition; and the point that claims our attention is that among those who are expected to participate in such undertakings there are commonly no defaulters. I have asked often enough what would happen to a hypothetical defaulter, but such questions seldom meet with a satisfactory answer because one's informants seem almost unable to visualize an unusual situation. It is answered simply that all the able-bodied who should take part will take part; nor can I recall any concrete case of a man deliberately shirking his duty in any major enterprise of the group. This willingness to co-operate or assist is a sufficiently striking native trait which we may call simply *helpfulness*. It is seen most strongly perhaps in war or in minor quarrels, where the native is always too ready to take up the cudgels in behalf of his people or his friend: it is the active aspect of clannishness. One of the reasons why a village is sometimes almost depleted of its young men because they all elect to 'sign-on' for labour in a batch is simply this desire to stand by one another. 'What will happen to our brother', they say, 'when he is set upon by a mob of stalwart Kiwais, if we are not there to help him?' But in all the incidents of daily life the same spirit of helpfulness is apparent: a man is lost, and there is a great turn-out to find him; if he is ill or in distress he is never neglected; if he cries 'Help!' there is an excited

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rushing to the scene. On the whole we may say that the Orokaiva seldom fails in this duty of helping the members of his group.

A passive virtue, yet one which possibly ranks first in Orokaiva estimation, is that of *good temper*. I find no specific term for it, but the good-tempered man is called simply *jawo-embo*, or 'good man'. A squabbler, a vituperator, or a bully is strongly disliked, and since it is these very propensities—even that of mere vituperation—which bring credit to a man when he directs them against the outsider, we see at once a contrast between intra-group and extra-group morality. A man of anger is *tumo-buso*, which could be said to mean literally 'liverish', but which in actuality implies something more fiery than mere crabbiness. A man is *jujuno-buso* if he is given to verbal quarrelling, and *embogi-buso* if he be an actual brawler. Such a one was Buninia, who some fifteen years ago was a noted warrior among the Aiga. With his great size and prowess a fierce temper combined to make him almost a terror to the neighbourhood. As a warrior he was named as particularly *sarika*; but his offensives were not always directed towards the legitimate enemy. He had stolen pigs and fought with neighbours in near-by villages, so that he is nowadays remembered as a strong man but a bad one. But usually there is very little that resembles bullying in a native village. To force a man to do one's will by personal violence is a thing that hardly enters the native's mind; and when a fisticuffs occur—which in fact is seldom—one ventures to believe it is only in the heat of anger. Between husband and wife it is somewhat different: a man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give her a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is probably not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and an habitual wife-beater has a bad name. I have seen children smacked, but never chastised, and would venture to say that when children are beaten it is only in anger and not with any cool intention of punishing them or improving them. I remem-

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be somewhat later in starting work, but they do their share. There are very few slackers in an Orokaiva village. As has been indicated, there is no effective division of labour in the garden save that between the sexes, and, to a less extent, that between old and young. There are incipient traces of trades and special vocations among the Orokaiva, but in gardening there is virtually no such differentiation. Every man, unless he be aged or a cripple, has his own garden, and he and his wife and children support themselves.

Sometimes the whole clan will co-operate. This is seen especially when a move is made and work begun on a new area. Sometimes by invitation another village will come to assist in these initial operations. This is the nearest approach that the Orokaiva makes to the African working bee. Passing at noon through the village of Ohoraburari—so named because the 'dance of the rooster' was once performed there—we see the women already busy, and a great array of black pots on the fires. A little farther and we come to the new garden clearing, where we find at work the whole population, men and women, of a neighbouring village, Totoimaburari, 'the dance of Totoima', the legendary mankiller. Working with them are a few of the Ohoraburari people—such as are not more interested in helping prepare the feast for their paying guests.

The work proceeds steadily, but with little system. There is nothing like a drive, or a rank of men moving forward and working abreast; but rather a number of scattered individuals, engaged in a somewhat aimless and leisurely kind of dibbling. On the edge of the garden is a platform, shoulder high, with a miniature ladder from the ground. This is the *barau*, or *ba gaga*, the platform on which offerings are set for the spirits of the dead, who govern the taro crop; and the ladder is intended in some manner to facilitate their access to the offerings. On this occasion the *barau* is hung about with tufts of the brilliant feathers which make up the Orokaiva head-

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dresses, and with ornaments of shell, pig-tusks, and dogs' teeth, mock offerings to the spirits which are meant to win their goodwill without costing anything. No doubt there would be more enthusiasm about the working bee if these people only had a brew of African beer awaiting them instead of the too sober pleasures of a dish of taro. The working bee, with its easy-going sociability and slow but cheerful progress, is an excellent custom but not a very striking one: it takes place comparatively seldom and seems on the whole an institution which is not developed to the full extent of its possibilities.[1] Such enthusiasm as does prevail at the beginning has a native way of petering out. Tasks well begun are often unfinished, for the Papuan seems to lack that proper desire to carry his work to the neat, logical, square finish, in which we take so much satisfaction. He works, not for the pleasure of working (as why should he?) but to ensure his food-supply from day to day and a periodical surplus for a feast.

9. *An Improved Horticulture*

Having completed a survey of Orokaiva horticulture, I may attempt now to offer some criticisms and suggest some improvements. If this last section should appear to be outbalanced by the rather discursive description which has preceded it, I make the same excuse here as in other reports. The observations of one who is admittedly no gardener, but who has seen many taro gardens, and has, at any rate, eaten a lot of taro, may be worth setting down in full, so that others with an expert knowledge of horticulture may find them useful to build upon, irrespective of the suggestions which follow.

[1] Mr. G. H. Murray, Controller of Native Plantations, has drawn my attention to the concerted methods of tilling practised by many natives on the south coast of Papua, where a number of men will work forward in line with their digging-sticks, and each line of broken ground 'looks as if it had been carefully ploughed'. Descriptions of the same sort of work are given in H. Newton's *In Far New Guinea*, p. 123, and Jennes and Ballantyne's *Northern D'Entrecasteaux*, p. 125. It is not necessary, therefore, to go to Africa for a contrast to Orokaiva methods.